

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 ACDA-19 SAJ-01 AEC-11 AID-20

CEA-02 CIEP-02 COME-00 EB-11 FEA-02 FPC-01 INT-08

OMB-01 SCI-06 STR-08 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /222 W

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R 191717Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0525

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

CINCEUR VAIHINGEN

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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN

CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02702

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, FR, GW

SUBJECT: ENERGY CONFERENCE, EUROPE AND THE ALLIANCE:  
BONN POST-MORTEM

REF: BONN 1872 AND 2461; STATE 32337

1. SUMMARY: RECOVERING SLOWLY FROM THEIR INITIAL BITTERNESS AT FRENCH BEHAVIOR IN WASHINGTON (BONN 2461), GERMAN POLITICIANS AND OFFICIALS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO TRY TO TAKE SOME OF THE SHARPNESS OUT OF THE RECENT FRANCO-GERMAN CONFLICT. THE GERMANS ARE ATTEMPTING PUBLICLY TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE EUROPEAN ROLE, TO APPEAR TO BE TRYING TO DEAL REASONABLY WITH THE FRENCH, AND TO PLAY DOWN THE IDEA THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY ARE SO PROFOUND AS TO BLOCK FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION IN WESTERN EUROPE. IN BRIEF, THE GERMANS ARE PUTTING THE BEST FACT POSSIBLE ON THE RECENT WASHINGTON DIFFICULTIES OF THE NINE, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE DAMAGE REQUIRES PATIENCE AND A PAUSE FOR REFLECTION ON ALL SIDES. PRIVATELY, AS WE HAVE NOTED, THEIR VEXATION WITH THE FRENCH IS CONSIDERABLE, AND THEY ARE BEARISH ABOUT ANY REAL PROSPECTS FOR POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EC FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THERE IS SOME HOPE ON THE PART OF A FEW OPTIMISTS THAT THE FRENCH WILL RECOGNIZE THEY WENT TOO FAR IN WASHINGTON AND WILL HENCE MODERATE THEIR NEGATIVE POSITION. BUT MOST OF THE HARDER-HEADED POLITICOS AND OFFICIALS IN BONN ARE SKEPTICAL. THEY FEEL THAT THE FRG CAME OUT OF THE CONFERENCE AS THE STRONGEST FORCE IN WESTERN EUROPE; THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS ROLE, AT THE SAME TIME RECOGNIZING THAT THE FRG WILL HAVE TO TRY TO HIDE THIS STRENGTH IN THE EC FRAMEWORK. FOR REALISTS IN BONN KNOW THAT WEST GERMAN LEADERSHIP OF WESTERN EUROPE IS STILL TOO PROBLEMATIC FOR MOST EUROPEANS. IN THE SHORT RUN, THE FRG WILL PROBABLY FOCUS MORE  
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HEAVILY ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. IN THE LONGER RUN, THEY WILL PROBABLY LEAN AGAIN TOWARD THE EUROPEAN IDEA: BOTH PRACTICALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY, THIS APPEALS TO MOST GERMAN POLITICIANS AND TO THE VOTING PUBLIC. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER INITIAL OUTBURSTS OF ANGER AND EXASPERATION OVER THE FRENCH OBSTRUCTIONISM IN WASHINGTON, FEDERAL

GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE WORKING HARD PUBLICLY TO SOFTEN THE EDGES OF WHAT HAD BECOME TOO OBVIOUSLY A FRANCO-GERMAN DISPUTE. OVER THE WEEKEND, FONMIN SCHEEL WAS AT PAINS IN FACT TO STRESS IN A RADIO INTERVIEW THAT THE CONTROVERSY IN WASHINGTON BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS WAS NOT A MATTER BETWEEN BONN AND PARIS ALONE BUT ONE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE EIGHT. HE PROPOSED THAT, IN ORDER TO AVOID SIMILAR DIFFERENCES IN THE FUTURE, THE EC ADOPT DECISIONS BY A MAJORITY VOTE RATHER THAN BY UNANIMITY. SIMILARLY, STATE SECRETARY APEL WARNED ABOUT PUTTING FRANCE IN THE CORNER POLITICALLY, COMMENTING THAT THIS WOULD BE MOST DANGEROUS FOR EUROPE. APEL WENT ON TO SAY THAT A UNITED EUROPE COULD ONLY BE DEVELOPED IN CLOSE CONJUNCTION WITH THE US AND WITHIN THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP.

3. THE EFFORT IN BONN IS ALREADY CLEAR, THEREFORE: TO TRY TO OVERCOME THE SPLIT WITH FRANCE THAT BECAME SO MANIFEST IN WASHINGTON BUT WHICH HAD BEEN CLEARLY LOOMING ON THE HORIZON FOR MONTHS BEFORE (BONN 1872). PART OF

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OMB-01 SCI-06 STR-08 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /222 W

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R 191717Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0526

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMCONSUL BREMEN  
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF  
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AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN  
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02702

THIS GERMAN RECONCILIATION EFFORT IS GENUINE IN ITS INTENTIONS: THE GERMANS ARE CONVINCED EUROPEANS; THEY BELIEVE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION MOVEMENT AS A REALLY VIABLE LONG-RUN POLICY WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY ALLOW WESTERN EUROPE TO PLAY A LARGER AND MORE POWERFUL ROLE THAN THE INDIVIDUAL STATES CAN PLAY. SCHEEL'S SPEECH OF FEBRUARY 18 IN MUNICH PROPOSING A COMMON EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT.

4. THE GERMANS CAN THEREFORE BE EXPECTED TO WORK HARD IN COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS TO PUT SOME LIFE BACK INTO EC OPERATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS. THEY WILL ENDEAVOR TO DO ALL THEY CAN TO INDUCE THE FRENCH TO ADOPT MORE REASONABLE, PRO-EUROPEAN POSITIONS IN THE VARIOUS EC NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDER WAY. THERE ARE EVEN SOME FRG OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FONOFF, WHO BELIEVE (OR HOPE) THAT THE FRENCH WILL RECOGNIZE THEY WENT TOO FAR IN WASHINGTON AND WILL TRY TO REPAIR THEIR IMAGE BY TAKING STANDS THAT WILL ONCE AGAIN PROVE THEIR EUROPEAN CREDENTIALS. THERE IS THE REALIZATION, OF COURSE, THAT

THE PROCESS OF BRINGING ORDER BACK INTO THE EC WILL REQUIRE PATIENCE, AND THAT A TEMPORARY PAUSE FOR REFLECTION MAY BE ADVISABLE FOR ALL SIDES. BUT ONCE THIS PERIOD IS OVER, THE GERMANS WILL PROBABLY TRY TO MOVE THE EC OPERATION FORWARD ONCE AGAIN.

5. MOST GERMAN POLITICIANS AND OFFICIALS ARE TAKING A HARD-HEADED LOOK AT THE EC AND ITS FUTURE SINCE THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, HOWEVER. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE DISPUTE WITH FRANCE HAD ONLY MARGINALLY TO DO WITH ENERGY: IT IN FACT REPRESENTED A LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE WITH THE EC, AND THE GERMANS THINK THEY EMERGED THE CLEAR VICTOR. FINANCE MINISTER SCHMIDT IN PARTICULAR HAS BECOME THE REAL GERMAN HERO OF THE SET-TO WITH THE FRENCH. HIS POLITICAL STOCK HAS RISEN SHARPLY, AS  
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CHANCELLOR BRANDT'S HAS SEEMED TO DECLINE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT BRANDT WAS IN FACT UNHAPPY WITH SCHMIDT'S PERFORMANCE IN WASHINGTON, JUST BECAUSE IT GAVE SCHMIDT THE LEADERSHIP IMAGE THAT BRANDT NOW LACKS.

6. THE PRESENT THINKING ON THE GERMAN SIDE, IN LIGHT OF THIS SEEMING VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH, IS THAT THE FRG SHOULD ACCEPT THE LEADERSHIP POSITION BUT IN A MOST RESTRAINED WAY. THUS, APART FROM SCHEEL'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE EUROPEAN UNITY OUT OF A GENUINE DESIRE TO SEE THE ORGANISM DEVELOP, THERE IS THE FEELING ON THE PART OF OTHER POLITICIANS THAT THE FRG SHOULD BUILD UP THE EC MECHANISM SO AS TO DISGUISE THE REAL GERMAN STRENGTH IN THAT INSTITUTION. THE GERMANS RECOGNIZE THAT MOST OF WESTERN EUROPE IS STILL NOT READY TO ACCEPT A ROLE OF PRIMACY FOR THE FRG.

7. NONE OF THE GERMANS WE HAVE TALKED TO IN THE PAST FEW DAYS REALLY EXPECT MUCH TO HAPPEN IN THE EC SPHERE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. MUCH ENERGY WILL HAVE TO GO INTO HEALING THE BRUISES LEFT BY THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE. EVEN AFTER A HEALING PERIOD, THE GERMANS ARE CONCERNED THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING THE FRENCH AND THE OTHERS ALONG, THERE WILL BE A RESIDUE OF DISTRUST AND SUSPICION IN EUROPEAN CIRCLES THAT IS GOING TO MAKE ANY MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARD EC COOPERATION VERY SLOW GOING. THUS IN THE SHORT RUN, THE GERMANS ARE BEARISH ABOUT THE EC'S PROSPECTS AND ABOUT THE CHANCES OF GETTING THE FRENCH TO BE LESS FRENCH.

8. IN THE SHORT RUN, THEREFORE, THE FRG WILL PROBABLY FOCUS SOMEWHAT MORE HEAVILY ON ITS BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US, RECOGNIZING THAT THIS IS WHERE ITS

REAL SECURITY LIES. WE EXPECT IT WILL CARRY OUT THIS  
SORT OF POLICY VERY GINGERLY, HOWEVER, FOR IT WILL NOT  
WISH TO GIVE THE WEST EUROPEANS AND PARTICULARLY THE  
FRENCH ANY PRETEXT TO ATTACK WEST GERMANY'S DEVOTION TO  
THE EUROPEAN IDEA. BUT QUIETLY AND WITHOUT FUSS, WE  
THINK THE GERMANS WILL CONTINUE TO ADOPT POSITIONS THAT  
TAKE SOMEWHAT MORE ACCOUNT OF US INTERESTS AND PERHAPS  
SLIGHTLY LESS OF THE EC'S THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN THE  
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PAST YEAR OR TWO. OBVIOUSLY, THE GERMANS WILL NOT FALL  
OVER BACKWARDS TO MEET OUR WISHES, AND THEIR DIFFERENCES  
WITH US ON SOME KEY ISSUES WILL REMAIN. BUT THEIR  
GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD US IS LIKELY TO BECOME MORE  
ACCOMMODATING.

9. OVER THE LONG RUN, AND DEPENDING IN LARGE PART ON

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ACTION EUR-25

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OMB-01 SCI-06 STR-08 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /222 W

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R 191717Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0527

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERN  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMCONSUL STUTTGART  
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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN  
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02702

THE WAY THE FRENCH ACT IN THE EC CONTEXT, WE WOULD EXPECT THE GERMANS ONCE AGAIN TO MOVE MORE INTENSIVELY TOWARD EUROPEAN COOPERATION. THIS HAS A DEEP-ROOTED ATTRACTION TO MANY GERMAN POLITICIANS OF NEARLY ALL POLITICAL HUES, AND IT REPRESENTS A POTENTIALLY VALID SUPPLEMENT, IN THE EYES OF MANY THINKING GERMANS, TO THE FRG'S DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. MOST GERMANS REALIZE THAT THIS EUROPEAN COOPERATION CONCEPT HAS TO INCLUDE POLITICAL AND EVEN DEFENSE ELEMENTS TO BE VIABLE AND THEREFORE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT IT LIES FAR IN THE FUTURE. BUT THE IDEA NONETHELESS RETAINS ATTRACTIVENESS.

10. AS TO NATO IN THE WAKE OF THE ENERGY CONFERENCE, WE BELIEVE THE GERMANS WILL CONTINUE NOW AND IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE TO TAKE A LEADING, CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE POSITION IN SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE. THEIR VIEW OF THEIR SECURITY NEEDS PERMITS THEM LITTLE OTHER CHOICE. HOWEVER, THE EUROPEAN IDEA WILL CONTINUE TO LURE THE WEST GERMANS TOWARD CONSIDERATION OF A RE-

CONSTRUCTURING OF NATO TO GIVE THE WEST EUROPEAN CONVENTIONAL FORCES A SPECIAL SECURITY ROLE. THIS WAS THE CONCEPT BEHIND SCHEEL'S MUNICH SPEECH (DETAILS IN SEPTTEL): HIS THOUGHT IS NOT TO REPLACE THE US ROLE IN NATO BUT TO SUPPORT IT WITH A MORE UNIFIED EUROPEAN DEFENSE POSTURE. WHETHER IT WILL WORK AND HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO CREATE THE SORT OF INSTITUTION SCHEEL SEEMS TO HAVE IN MIND ARE, OF COURSE, VERY LARGE QUESTIONS. WE WOULD EXPECT LITTLE TO HAPPEN ANY TIME SOON. EUROPE IS STILL IN TOO MUCH DISARRAY IN THE WAKE OF THE ENERGY CONFERENCE AND OTHER INTRA-EC DISPUTES. BUT SCHEEL AND THE WEST GERMANS WILL KEEP STRESSING THE THEME OF EUROPEAN COOPERATION, PARTLY BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IN IT AND PARTLY TO KEEP TOO GREAT ATTENTION FROM FOCUSING ON WEST GERMANY'S REAL STRENGTH IN EUROPE.

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HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AMITY, ALLIANCE, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 FEB 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** n/a  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** BONN 1872 AND 2461; STATE 32337  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 MAR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21 MAR 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <01 MAY 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ENERGY CONFERENCE, EUROPE AND THE ALLIANCE: BONN POST-MORTEM  
**TAGS:** PGOV, FR, GE, XG, (SCHEEL)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005